2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chane SF8

C 756 554

The shamans (ipaye) enjoyed considerable prestige. When invited by a village to assist its inhabitants in some predicament, they were received with marks of great respect and were lavishly entertained. They served the community as rain makers and as doctors. In the latter capacity, they treated patients or protected the whole village against epidemics. Their curing technique followed the usual South American pattern of blowing and sucking the sick person. They retired to small cabins to communicate with spirits. Blowing tobacco smoke played a large part in the shamanistic ritual. The medicine men were expected to discover the evil charms that threatened the individual or the community as a whole. Shamans were often put to death for their failure to bring rain or to dispel an epidemic. Old women were often called to cure diseases which required the administration of drugs.

C 756 755
C 857 859 859
Ee 541 ● 535 532 177 174

During carnivals, which, under the Bolivian influence, have become a period of wild rejoicing, young men wearing masks (pl. 44) of soft wood amuse the spectators by their antics and tricks. As the best masks are those carved by the *Chané*, it is likely that the clown interludes are survivals of dances by masked persons representing nature spirits or ghosts, such as are performed by many *Arawak* tribes. The *Chané* and *Chiriguano* masked characters collect food and depart amid the tears of old people.

MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

C 773 821 [787]

Cosmogony.—The Sun is a man and the Moon is his wife. In the evening the Sun enters a river which he follows until he rises again. An eclipse of the Sun or of the Moon is caused by the attack of a "purple" or "yellow" jaguar. Everybody then makes as much noise as possible to frighten off the celestial feline.

C [805]

The appearance of the Pleiades, which the *Chiriguano* call "a swarm of bees," announces the harvest season. Their yearly course serves also to reckon time. The *Chiriguano* identify Scorpio with a fenced field, in the center of which is the miraculous spade of Aguara-tampa. In the black skies near the Milky Way (the road of the rhea), they see a celestial ostrich (rhea), the head of which is the Southern Cross. The Magellanic Clouds are the ashes of a fire built by a couple who went to the sky. (See Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924.)

Ee 773 114
Ee 773

Folklore.—Most of the *Chiriguano* folklore recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912) was obtained from a *Chané* of the Parapeti River region. The collection of myths and tales made by Métraux (1930 b) in *Chiriguano* villages shows that both groups, in spite of their different origin, share substantially in the same folklore. Certain motifs in the *Chané* version, however, have not been recorded among their ancient *Chiriguano* masters, and may well be *Arawak* traditions which have survived among them. An example is the theme, which is well known in the Guianas, of the

/120 cont./

578 Out of these general wars were derived other private ones, which civilized people called affairs of honor--dueling. This does not happen in private, as occurs among civilized people, who go off to a determined place with
578 their respective seconds. All is public, in the presence
541 of many people who come to drink. It is /121/ the caciques who incite their soldiers to match their strength and to avenge with crime an affront or an unfounded jealousy. When this happens, with or without a reason, the fighters place themselves in the midst of a whole crowd of spectators in the presence of the caciques, who urge them on with a word of command, while the poor angry men hit each other cruel blows.

578 Boxing is ancient, because formerly knives were not
412 known and, if they had them, they only used them in
178 their work in the fields. Now the picture has changed:
169 the young are succeeding the old, and these young people
464 continually go to work in the Argentine Republic. There they learn how to drink pure liquor, to handle the knife with which they are armed for their work, and to defend themselves. One small word is enough: it is enough if one says yainano, let us fight, the word of challenge, and knives are unsheathed, and then blood flows. Fortunately, they usually are content with inflicting wounds which rarely bring death because they do not deliver the blow with the point of the weapon but with the edge.

169 This mania for going off to the Argentine Republic has
464 them in continual movement, and, unfortunately, many of them remain ten years, to return finally bringing almost nothing with them, and if one asks them, they answer very
169 rudely, "I drank it all." Last year's law has made recruit-
464 ment impossible. Several Indians went off, but they could
648 not get through Villa-Montes and returned (1).

1. If the authorities in Villa-Montes and Yacuiba continue to capture the Indians who are trying to escape, the law will not be in vain this time.

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S27
SF1

Chiriguano carnival, "The Fight of the Bull with the Jaguar."

4: Nino--361 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SP10

/266 cont./

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771 that the cacique had said with reference to their idea of the missionary, whom they consider to be very powerful with regard to the elements of nature; this Indian's ideas concerning the creation of man are very base and immoral; other, more enlightened ones do not tell it this way.

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576 /267/ Whether the visit is long or short, at the time of leaving the guest thanks the master of the house, saying, Ayirobia catu ndereé, I thank you very much, and goes off, saying, Aha ye ma, I am going, and the master of the house answers, Tunpa reño eguata, travel or go with God, but first he makes him promise to come back to visit him whenever it is convenient.

Carnival

● 541
177 If I ask the Indians of Ivu who introduced the carnival among them, some answer that it was the subprefect of Lagunillas who came and built a small fort here and another in Cuevo; others say that it was a white man whom I know and shall not name, and I conclude that it was both of them. The former told them that the carnival was a fiesta of merrymaking, and the latter taught them to do it the way they do it today, as I shall go on to describe. If I ask other Indians, they answer that they learned it from the whites, from which it can be deduced that this general madness is not their own; they do it because they like everything which smacks of killing time, drinking, and dancing.
[184] The very word "carnival" indicates that it is not a Chiriguano fiesta; therefore it should not be confused with the Mbapa páure, which is somewhat similar because of its immorality; this latter is older and is not found in every tribe, in addition to having a set time, after the first cold until about the middle of July (1).

[648] 1. The whites of Cordillera, with their chief, set up the said fortifications after the rebels who had attacked Igüembe had been defeated; they had not come to help the subprefect of Azero,

/267 cont./

[54] [179] [648] Don Antonio Menduiña, who had requested aid; he fought on bravely alone, helped by his soldiers from Azero.

Thus, even though it is not of Chiriguano origin, the carnival [178] is greatly celebrated here, so much so that it bears the name of Arete, fiesta, through antonomasia, and all the old fiestas are [461] gradually disappearing, yielding to this one. For the days that [292] this residue of paganism lasts, the Chiriguano works almost all year in spite of the laziness that accompanies him; for it is he gladly helps the whites, receiving in exchange money to buy clothing for himself and his wife and children; and on those days all are on great parade, showing off luxurious garments of every form and color, garments which, to be sure, they do not dare put on /268/ during the other days of the year, neither for the Ayarise nor for the Mbapa páure.

In such circumstances there is hardly any difference between [532] blacks and whites; the men well dressed, and even the infidel women with garb adorned with gauze, fancy hats, and multicolored ribbon; the children cover their faces with masks which they have made beforehand by carving toborochi wood; young men prefer to show off on horseback, riding at a gallop, and others, such as the old people, amuse themselves by looking at the dancers and Agüeros /maskers/, for whom everything is allowed because it is carnival.

[54] [535] [527] By way of preparation for the big fiesta, or because one drinks and has fun, they make merry on the compadre and comadre days, and on Quinquagesima Saturday, all day, the maskers and dancers practice the dances that they call Aticu. [532] On the next day from eight to nine they begin the carnival, dancing to the music of drums and flutes of hollow cane, and the one who is called lord of the fiesta is someone in disguise with a mask that depicts an old man with a white beard, usually mounted on a burro; the one who is thus disguised directs the fiesta, makes his speeches in each corner of the plaza, recommending harmony and happiness (1).

1. The principal man so disguised has subalterns.

/268 cont./

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who also give their long or short speeches. If asked, the masked men say that their town or region is Matamorocho.

If there is no partner, the women dance among themselves, but as soon as a man appears, she dances with him, holding hands, and many couples dance quite close together; their style of dancing is to raise first one foot and then the other to the rhythm of the music. The zapateo /tapping with the feet/, as they call this dance, lasts until the Sunday or Saturday of Temptation without rest, and on the next day, which is the last, the games
541 begin. At ten o'clock several young men in masks undress, leaving covered what is purely necessary, cover themselves completely with mud, furtively approach the group of dancers, and then charge in every direction, squeezing among the better dressed and thus creating confusion among all. This game is called the game of the pigs, and they imitate them very well (2).

2. Before this game the disguised men pour over the dancers bean pods and maize siftings left from the preparation of the chicha; this is in order that there may be plenty in the following year.

/269/ The games in the afternoon are quite varied; once the game of the pigs is finished, or even before, two little blacks come out with maize-husk cigars in the mouth and a rope in the hand, leading a person in the disguise of a bull, who is defended and protected by a humorously dressed woman, who holds up a flag hanging from a hollow-cane pole; the little blacks are the bull's masters and they even lead dogs, and when the bull is under the flag, he is not bothered much.

At the same time, as though he had come out of the forest, another person appears disguised as a jaguar, and he begins to fight with the bull; if the bull begins to get the worst of it, the masked men who play the role of dogs rush to his defense and hound the jaguar, as those on horseback also do. Once

/269 cont./

541 in a while the jaguar catches some little dog and makes it cry out, and sometimes it unseats some rider. After a longer or shorter time, the bull or jaguar dies in the battle; generally the former survives, because they kill the latter among them all, between the dogs and cowboys. Then people in disguise who are playing the role of butchers appear, buy the bull from the little blacks with stone or bone money, and butcher it.

535 541 Immediately the dancers form a large circle, holding on to each other with both hands, and they dance this way three times; a number of women huddle over and three others pass under the extended arms of one couple of the circle itself, and a number of others join together, forming a big mass with faces outward, with hands linked together and crossed, remaining this way until another couple dances around them without holding hands, but rather with the man trying not to be caught by the woman, and, if this happens, he then hides amidst the others until his companion has gone by, coming out again to dance until he has gone three times around, taking the same precautions each time as on the first (1).

1. The circle is made up of all the couples who have come to participate in the fiesta; it is made up of a man and a woman with both arms extended and with the hands held; the circle takes up a lot of space, according to the number of couples.

Finally, with the whole circle dancing, they make three circuits in the town, dancing, hands joined, at the corners of the plaza and in front of the houses where they had danced on the previous days. /270/ All of the masked persons join in the first circuit; they form their circle and the head man makes his speech, then the older ones form a seat with their canes crossed, make a little boy sit there, raise him up some two meters, form with crossed canes a shield around his head, and all the rest pour on him a prolonged shower of blows with the hollow cane, without hurting him, and then they let him down. They do this three

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times in different locations (1).

1. At the carnival, during the three days, there are women who dress like men and men who dress like women, but both cover their faces well so as not to be recognized; this was also taught them by the white man.

152 On the second circuit all the Agüeros, the masked ones, a mestizo term, ask from house to house for provisions, and they accept everything, even bean pods and watermelon rinds, and on the third circuit, which is the farewell, there begins the wailing of big and small masked persons, laden with provisions and scraps; these weepers really make the old people and others cry, because some of them are thinking of their departed ones who are not present at this festivity which is ending, and others perhaps because they think they will not get to see another carnival. I questioned an old man who was really crying, and he gave me the preceding answer. When the last circuit ends with the drums muffled as a sign of sorrow, all of them, riders, dancers, and agüeros, go out of the town and go to a place where they throw away the masks and immediately go to the river, or a spring, to wash their hands and faces a little (2).

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2. All of the foregoing games in Ivu were taught them by the same white man whom I have mentioned, and in the beginning he taught them by demonstration, causing astonishment, particularly in the women and the old persons; many of the said games are immoral, especially the circles and the massed group.

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Easter

Forty days later the Chiriguano has another fiesta, that of the Pascua de Resurrección /Easter/, which was introduced by the whites; the old Indians call it nice because it is quiet, as they call the carnival very noisy.

Ec /238 cont./
273 finest clay vessels, "yambuy," and places these in front of her
574 guests (Figs. 77 and 78). The person before whom a vessel with
576 cangui is placed must serve. This applies to the chiefs as well.
Even I served at Indian social gatherings. It is not unusual for the men to serve the women and vice versa. The cangui is poured into decorated calabashes which are passed in turn. Everyone must drink up. A person who refuses is impolite and ill-bred. It is not appropriate for a person to pour for himself. If one wishes to be polite to the server, he first drains his bowl, then fills it himself, and offers it to him. If one drinks everything offered, he is a friend of the Indians. If one refuses, the Indians become mistrustful of him. An old Chané once said to me: "You are a nice Christian, even in the morning you drink maize beer with us." When Moberg returned home from the hunt laden with booty, the young and pretty women crowded around the happy huntsman and welcomed him with a calabash of maize beer. /239/ What were the hardships of the hunt /Fig. 118 appears
e here/ compared to those of drinking, for the women whose bowl
Ce he left untouched would never forget the insult. If one has
[754] enemies, the drinking of cangui can be dangerous, for who knows if someone has not put a bit of his own excrement or hair in the beer, so that one will be bewitched and die. Such things happen in these villages.

C At the festivals, evidences of Indian humor often come to
Ce 522 light. One joke, for example, is to act as though one were hand-
527 ing around cangui in a calabash turned upside down, another is to ask someone to play the flute on a misshapen reed.

C Dance masks are now worn by the Chiriguano and Chané
Ce 535 only during the carnival, the great drinking festival of the
532 Christians. Those that I saw had the form of human faces (Fig. 119).
177
●541 Very different opinions prevail among the Indians about
ce whether or not the masks here are of Indian origin. Vocapoy
532 said the idea for them had originally come from the whites.
177 Batirayu, on the other hand, maintained that as a boy on the Río
535 Parapiti he saw among the Chané some of the present masks, which
Ce
[796]

Ce
/239 cont./
535 were used at their great festivals. In his opinion, the Chané used
532 masks before the whites came to the country. /240/ In addition
179 in those days they had around their legs
796 rattles made out of fruits and on their
[539] heads feather ornaments of parrot feathers.
[237]

Ee
532 The Chiriguano and Chané always destroy the masks after the
177 carnival. They are either burned
●541 or thrown into the river. The Chané
535 call the masks "añañya."

C
Ce
541 It is strange what a great role the carnival now plays as a
177 festival among the Indians. This
[464] undoubtedly comes from the fact that the whites distribute great quantities of spirits there and that the Indians who work for them are given a few days off at that time.

Ee
527 Guests often come from a great distance to the festivals. They appear
273 there in their finest clothing and orna-
292 ments, freshly painted and nicely
574 combed. Most of the old costumes
301 and ornaments, however, have already disappeared. Nevertheless one still sees women in home-woven clothing

C
Ce
[178] with necklaces of chrysocolla and turquoise. I never saw used, however,

C
912 the silver diadem and the silver
237 pins which belong to the festive attire.
→ One often sees the men's blue costumes (Fig. 81) with silver chest ornaments preserved in the huts by the old people, but they

Ce
535 are not used for the festivals.
527 Among the Chané in the Itiyuro
273 valley I saw the Indians dance at a cangui festival. Around a "yambuy"
533 of cangui stood a few old men in twos, singing a monotonous song

A B

Fig. 118. Soup spatulas. Chiriguano.
A = Tihuipa. 1/8.
B = Caipipendi. 1/6.